

JOSEF GUTENKAUF

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

THROUGH THE SOCIALIST PARTY

- 05

By ALBERT W. HAMILTON
and EDMUND CHURCHILL

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ISSUED BY

THE CHURCH SECTION
YOUTH COMMITTEE FOR THOMAS AND NELSON
549 RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



INTRODUCTION

Christian young people have had for some time the slogan, "Building a New World." All over America conferences have been held around this theme. These conferences have served a valuable function in helping to educate many of us in the realities of our economic and social life and have led us to the acceptance of certain goals in our social relationships.

Many of us who have participated in the building of this program have come to realize that expression of ideas and of ideals, that mere voting on resolutions, is not enough. We have reached the conviction that our ideas must be made real on the field of political action.

This presidential campaign offers to young people an opportunity of a very clearcut nature to challenge our present profit making society and those who represent this society in politics. Putting the matter very simply, we believe that the only political party that stands today for the building of a cooperative world as contrasted with our competitive economy is the Socialist Party. We stand for peace and we have come to the realization that our work for peace will be as effective as tilting at windmills unless action is taken against the economic system that breeds war. This means support of the political party that seeks to change our economic society.

Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson are the Socialist candidates in this presidential campaign. They have records of real struggle for peace and for the rights of workers and farmers. We support them not primarily because of their records but because of the program on which they stand.

The Founder of the Christian Church two thousand years ago gave advice to fishermen who had spent a totally unsuccessful night at their trade. "Go a distance off shore and cast your nets where the water is deep, and your nets shall be filled." This appeal for the support of Thomas and Nelson is in a real sense a modern version of these words of advice. Going out into deep waters meant a break with old habits. Support for Thomas and Nelson means a break with the old order of things. It means a rejection of old parties and old programs which have been proved barren and unproductive. It means the expression of courage to face seriously the task of building a new world designed for the well being and abundant happiness of the great masses of people.

This pamphlet is being published by the Youth Committee for Thomas and Nelson. This committee was formed to develop a strong movement for support of the Socialist campaign among young people. We have published this pamphlet as a comparison of the ideas, the program, and record of the candidates of the Socialist Party, with the resolutions adopted by the Christian Youth Conference of North America at Lakeside, Ohio. The quotations used in this pamphlet are taken from the resolutions as read to the delegates. This conference was one of the most inclusive and important conferences ever held. It was a cross-section of Christian youth. Over nine hundred young people attended, representing nearly every major Protestant church body in America.

Many of those at the Lakeside conference recognized the Socialist Party as the one closest to their ideals. Of those opposed to capitalism 166 voted for the Socialist Party, 62 for the Republican, 45 for a new Farmer-Labor party, 29 for the Democratic Party, and 3 voted for the Communist Party. If, when you finish these pages you reach the conclusions that many delegates at Lakeside have reached; if you agree with us who are working for the Socialist campaign; we appeal to you to vote according to your convictions, to join the youth committee for Thomas and Nelson, and to work with us in this campaign.

THE CHURCH SECTION
YOUTH COMMITTEE FOR THOMAS AND NELSON.

Building A New World Through The Socialist Party

By Albert W. Hamilton and Edmund Churchill

Christian youth have in the past few years taken many progressive steps. From California to Maine you have time and time again raised your voices against injustice, against militarism, against the numberless aspects of our present society that mock at human liberty and brotherhood. In your denominations, and interdenominationally, through the program "Christian Youth Building a New World", you have turned your vision toward the creation of a society based upon cooperation rather than economic competition. You have stated in many resolutions that only a world of political and economic democracy can achieve security, justice, peace, freedom and fellowship that may be shared abundantly.

With a voice almost unanimous, the delegates to the Christian Youth Conference of North America declared:

"We do see a marked contrast between our conception of the economic foundations of the Kingdom of God and the nature of the present economic system which may be described as follows: poverty and want produced by an enforced scarcity, unemployment, economic serfdom and drudgery, corruption in the courts of the law, concentration of power, prejudice and discrimination, competition, warfare and strife, denial of civil liberties.

"Therefore we are driven to the conclusion that the present economic order is anti-Christian; a ruthless competitive profit system that cannot be reconciled with the kingdom of God . . ."

This is not a resolution of merely a philosophical nature. It expresses a basic conviction which, if it is to have meaning, must serve to determine decisions we are all compelled to make day after day. It is in the light of such a belief that you must decide which candidates, and, more important, which party you will support in the coming election.

Will your votes, your voice, and your energetic support go to those who stand for the existing system, or will they go to those who have pledged themselves and their program to the building of a Socialist America?

OUR CANDIDATES

Two men have been placed before the American people as candidates for president and vice-president who for years have been condemning our present order and have been working for a cooperative world. Like the delegates at the Lakeside Conference, they agree that a new economic order must be built in which the "tools of production will be owned by those who produce and use the product; where production is for use rather than profit." But they do more than agree.

They are the spokesmen for a political party that has as its task the building of a Socialist America, a workers' democracy where those who toil with hand or brain shall produce and create for use and not for the profit of a small owning class. That political party is the Socialist Party. The candidates of the Socialists in the 1936 election are Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson.

NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist candidate for president, has been a leader in every fight for worker's rights and social justice for many years. From his training for the ministry, he gained a deep concern and sensitiveness for the needs of others, and a firm conviction that we need a new social order. He has spoken to us in colleges, at our union meetings, at unemployed demonstrations. He has defied martial law in Terre Haute. He has defied the terror of Senator Joe Robinson's Arkansas in order to aid the organization of cotton sharecroppers. He has spoken at our anti-war strikes and meetings in the colleges, often when the administration has closed college buildings to us. We know that he is one of the most effective and outstanding of the men who fight the government's war machine on every front today.

GEORGE A. NELSON, the Socialist candidate for vice-president, is a dirt farmer from Wisconsin. He led opposition to the draft in the middle west at the time of the world war, and fights war still. He has been in the vanguard of farmer's organizations—the Farmer's Union and the Farm Holiday Association—in their organized efforts to gain rights for the farmers, and to prevent foreclosures. He has been a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, and served three terms in the Wisconsin State Assembly.

A comparison of the Socialist platform upon which Thomas and Nelson are running with the resolutions of the Christian Youth Conference of North America, will show how closely the program of these men and the convictions of Christian youth coincide.

WAR

"It is our conviction that war is a complete repudiation of every Christian principle; we are furthermore convinced that the drift toward war has now become an alarming drive toward war which requires unprecedented action from youth individually and collectively."

Is not this a call for support of the only party which presents squarely and clearly a program of opposition to war? The Socialist program is clear:

We propose the elimination of military training from our schools; the abandonment of imperialist adventures of a military or economic nature abroad; the maintenance of friendly relations with Soviet Russia; the development of internationalism among the peoples of the world; the elimination of profits from war and

war preparations; and the strengthening of neutrality laws, to the end that we may avert immediate wars while fighting for the attainment of a social order which will eliminate the basic causes of war.

Not a penny, not a man to the military arms of the government. We reaffirm the historic position of the Socialist Party of the United States of opposition to any war in which the government engages.

But how different are the actions and programs of Roosevelt and Landon, of the Democratic and Republican parties? The largest peacetime military budget, a billion dollars in one year for guns, for ammunition, for poison gas and all the other instrumentalities of death . . . that is the record of the "good-neighbor" Roosevelt. It was Roosevelt's Democratic colleagues and Landon's Republicans who this year combined to increase expenditures for military training. This is one phase of Roosevelt's program with which Landon does not take issue. Could the choice be clearer—between Roosevelt and Landon on the one side, and the Socialists on the other?

YOUTH'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT

Alarming as is this drive toward war, the economic plight in which youth finds itself is also of major importance. Unchallenged figures of Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, confirmed by other authorities, show between five and eight million young men and women out of school and without employment. This situation is a degenerating, a demoralizing factor such as America has never before known. In Germany it made possible the organization of Hitler's Brown Shirts. Can we let such a danger go unchallenged, unanswered?

Roosevelt has offered to a small fraction of these youth his meager program of the army-controlled Civilian Conservation Corps, and a socially isolated existence. To another small fraction he has offered the National Youth Administration with its "bread-crumb" wages. Both include provisions endangering the working standards of adult workers. The Christian Youth Council of North America, with delegates from all parts of the country, knew well that this program of the Roosevelt administration was not the answer to youth's plight. They knew that Landon's ignoring of the problem would not solve it. They endorsed the American Youth Act.

They knew that the American Youth Act, which the Young People's Socialist League helped to initiate and has supported from the time of its preparation, was the necessary answer to this problem, and the delegates voted to support it. The American Youth Act provides for democratically administered relief at trade union standards of hours and wages for unemployed youth, and students who must work to finish their education. The Socialist Party is the only party that openly calls in its platform for the passage of the American Youth Act. A vote for Thomas and Nelson is a vote for the AYA, a vote for the only serious attempt to meet the

immediate problem of youth who have been locked out of industry, the professions and the farms by our economic system. A vote for Roosevelt or Landon or Lemke is a vote against the AYA, a vote for the continued mental and moral stagnation and degeneration of millions of American youth.

RACIAL EQUALITY

The Christian Youth Council of North America voted support for "anti-lynching bills such as the Costigan-Wagner bill." This bill is one that has been hamstrung by the Democrats for years. In contrast to this inaction and the ignoring of the question by the Republican platform, the Socialist program demands "economic, political, legal and social equality for the Negro and all other oppressed minorities and the enactment and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws." The Socialist platform expresses sharp opposition to Jim-Crow laws.

Not only do Socialists say these things. They work for them. Socialists have led the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, the organization of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, both black and white. The voice of Thomas has been heard across America, calling on Democrats and Republicans alike to enact federal legislation to stop the crime of lynching. And just as frequently have President Roosevelt and the governors of the Southern states, refused to take a stand against the cruelties and indignities inflicted upon Negroes.

LABOR

"... we realize that organized labor is a basic factor in any significant social change toward building a new world."

This statement of convictions on the labor movement was the consensus of opinion of the conference.

This belief that organized labor is the basis for the achievement of a cooperative world is the essential basis of Socialist philosophy and action. The conflict between those who own and those who work must reach its final conclusion in the field of politics.

Compare the resolution on labor with this statement from the platform of the Socialist Party:

"Such a Socialist society cannot be obtained without a mighty struggle. The struggle must be waged by both workers and farmers organized into labor and farmers unions, cooperatives and their own political party."

BUILDING A NEW PATRIOTISM

In its resolution of "Building a New Patriotism", the Christian Youth Council of North America declared for the use of the ballot on the basis of an evaluation of such issues of the campaign as:

"The record and proposed action of the candidate and his party: on relief for the tenant farmers; the Tampa floggings; the teacher's oath bills; the largest peacetime military budget; the extension of the R. O. T. C.; army control of the C. C. C.; Child Labor Amendment; disenfranchised minority groups; and furthering of civil rights through state and local legislation."

The record and proposed action of the Socialist Party on these issues can well bear the most thorough investigation and evaluation . . . but this hardly can be said of Roosevelt and Landon and their parties.

" . . . on relief for tenant farmers . . . "

In Arkansas, sharecroppers and tenant farmers, as they have attempted to organize, have been flogged and killed by plantation bosses and lawless law enforcement officials. Striking sharecroppers seeking an increase in their 60¢ a day wage for picking cotton under the hot southern sun have experienced a reign of merciless terror. At the height of this terror, President Roosevelt came to Arkansas and speaking on behalf of Joe Robinson, southern Democratic boss, stated, "This is the first time I have had the experience of receiving your delightful southern hospitality." Not a word about terror and brutality! Only praise for hospitality!

Democratic officials actively took part in the suppression of the tenant farmers. They opposed on every front the efforts of the most exploited section of the American farm population to improve their conditions. Murders and terror went unheeded—unchallenged if not openly approved by the Democratic machine in control of the Arkansas government. Not one word of protest or condemnation from the White House. Not one word from the Kansas state house. It is Thomas and the rest of the Socialists who have joined hands with these disinherited people in their day-to-day attempts at organization and action for higher wages, who publicized their plight, who raised funds and clothing, and who aided every phase of their struggle.

" . . . the Tampa floggings . . . "

When the Tampa floggings and murder occurred, it was again a case of silence from the Democrats and Republicans. It was only vigorous protest organized in the main by Socialists that prevented a quiet white-wash of the case. It was Socialists who forced the courts to take action in Tampa against the murder by police of a organizer of the unemployed.

" . . . teacher's oath bills . . . "

Responsibility for the teacher's oath bills must be assumed by the legislatures, Democrat and Republican, who enacted them over the protests of Socialists and others.

" . . . the largest peacetime military budget; the extension of the ROTC; army control of the C.C.C. . . . "

Who but Roosevelt, the Democratic administration, and Republicans who cooperate in enacting these measures are responsible? If we are to use our votes wisely we must remember this.

" . . . Child Labor Amendment . . . "

More than half of the states that failed to ratify the amendment have Democratic legislatures, which means that the Democrats alone, if they honestly wished to, could ensure its ratification. On the other side, Landon's Kansas likewise ignores the children's plight. Endorsing the Child Labor Amendment, and pushing it as it has for years, the Socialist program now also proposes the Farmer's and Worker's Rights Amendment, granting Congress the power to legislate for the economic welfare of adult workers as well as for children. Socialists propose this legislation as an answer to the dictatorship of the Supreme Court.

" . . . disfranchised minority groups; and furthering of civil rights . . . "

Day in and day out, Socialists have worked to aid the disfranchised groups of American life and to protect and strengthen civil rights, wherever and whenever they have been threatened. Read the account of their activities—and read also of martial law, the open and armed suppression of all civil rights, proclaimed in recent months by twenty-three Democratic governors and nine Republican governors.

BUILD FOR SOCIALISM

Thus the record of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson and their party, the Socialist Party, compares with the expressions of the Christian Youth Conference of North America. This comparison has been made merely to bring the meaning of the slogan "Vote Socialist" closer to you. It is a program which needs comparison only with the needs of the great masses of working men and women, young and old, on farms and in the city, irrespective of creed, color or race. It was for these masses that it was written. It is to serve their needs that the Socialist party exists, and that these candidates are running. It is those who desire to work in a disciplined fashion who belong to the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party concerns itself with these problems because it sees all of these problems deeply rooted in our economic order. Socialists see the issue in this campaign as one of voting for or against capitalism. The Socialists do not give tacit support, as do the Communists, to President Roosevelt by saying the choice is Roosevelt or reaction. Roosevelt, Landon, and Lemke are all representatives of reaction, of capitalism,

of the system that leads to war. The Socialist Party declares that no program short of building a Socialist world will answer the needs of America. No program short of this one will fulfill Christian youth's expressed hope for a new world based on brotherhood and cooperation. We urge you to act on your convictions; give your voice, your vote, your energetic support to the candidacy of Norman Thomas and George A. Nelson.

TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

The present session of the Christian Youth Conference of North America, representing seventy-one Protestant denominations and agencies and composed of more than one thousand delegates from forty-eight states addresses the following questions to you and to the presidential candidates of the other parties.

First, what specific peace policy do you propose for decreasing the danger of America's slipping into war?

Second, what is your position respecting the Nye-Kvale Bill, size of C. M. T. C., and use of the National Guard?

Third, what do you offer five million idle youth and those regularly graduating into unemployed ranks?

Fourth, what may labor expect if you are elected?

Fifth, will you support such anti-lynching legislation as the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

Sixth, what do you propose to do regarding the increasing menace of the liquor traffic?

Seventh, do you propose to restore civil liberties and democratic rights to groups such as the tenant farmers in Arkansas?

Your reply eagerly awaited. Desire to present it to conference. Will be the basis of widely circulated and influential statements and judgments.

Representing the conference, I am,

ARTHUR STANLEY, President.

This telegram was sent to President Roosevelt, Governor Landon, William Lemke, Earl Browder and Norman Thomas.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate, is the only candidate who replied to the questionnaire. The following is his reply:

June 26, 1936.

Arthur Stanley,
President, Christian Youth Conference of North America,
Lakeside, Ohio.

Answering your telegram, question one. True peace requires end of capitalist nationalism, and the establishment of a federation of cooperative commonwealths. Collective security by means of sanctions and possible "good" war against fascism wholly unsound. America should preserve genuine neutrality, take profit

out of war and preparation for war, drastically reducing her own armaments and seek international disarmament, end imperialism, and seek economic cooperation of nations in respect to allocation of raw materials, fiscal policies, good working conditions and removal of barriers to trade. Political action should be supplemented by declaration of individual intention not to be cajoled or conscripted into war and by labor organization to strike against mobilization.

Question two. I favor Nye-Kvale Bill. I favor end of Citizen's Military Training Camps as military camps and keeping boys out of the National Guard.

Question three. I favor the American Youth Act as the only proposal to meet the immediate economic needs of youth. It is democratically administered and does not undermine the standards of organized workers.

Question four. Labor may expect me to carry out Socialist platform in order to give workers with hand and brain the product of their toil. Meanwhile we favor comprehensive social security legislation including a complete rehousing program. By means of this and other useful public works, by the shorter working week and by adequate relief we will deal with unemployment. We shall guarantee absolutely labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through its own unions.

Question five. I favor more drastic Federal anti-lynching legislation than the Costigan-Wagner Bill.

Question six. Personally I favor taking all profit out of liquor traffic, prohibiting liquor advertising, and handling manufacturing and sale of liquor through a public monopoly with every effort to reduce it and not increase it.

Question seven. Civil liberties should not only be restored to those who have lost them but given to those who never had them, as, for example, Arkansas sharecroppers. We Socialists took the initiative in organizing them and calling attention to their plight. Finally, I urge that only Socialism will make possible plenty and peace, freedom and brotherhood among men.

NORMAN THOMAS.



JOIN THE YOUTH COMMITTEE FOR THOMAS AND NELSON

Church Section, Youth Committee
for

Thomas and Nelson
549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.



Chairman
HAYES BEALL
Methodist, Chicago, Ill.



ELLEN LUND
Secretary, Executive Committee,
National Council of Methodist
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Christian Youth Council of
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WILLIAM KOPP
New York State Youth Council

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ALBERT W. HAMILTON, National Chairman,
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549 Randolph Street,
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